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Women Dedicators on the Athenian Acropolis and their Role in Family Festivals: The Evidence for Maternal Votives between 530-450 BCE

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Amalia Avramidou

1 As a major place of worship, the Acropolis of Athens received hundreds of votive offerings during the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods (Keesling 2005, p. 396-397 ; Scholl 2007). This study concentrates on a handful of offerings among female dedications set up by or on behalf of women, which can be specifically attributed to mothers through epigraphic or other corroborating evidence. The question of maternal dedications on the Acropolis may come as a surprise, since Athena is conceived as a political deity, associated predominantly with male heroes, male citizens, and the notion of autochthony (Loraux 1993 and 2000). The patron deity of Athens is rarely mentioned when treating questions of birth and maternity, with the exception, of course, of her own unorthodox offspring, Erichthonios, and the up-bringing of future Athenian citizens (Kron 1976, p. 55-67, and more recently Shapiro 2003, p. 87-89 and Avramidou 2011, p. 33-35). And it is in this capacity that she receives offerings from women representing their *oikos*, as I argue below. Moreover, let us keep in mind that Athena was not the only deity worshipped on the Acropolis; among the various cults on the Sacred Rock a family-related god, Zeus Herkeios, received maternal dedications, as well.

2 This paper reevaluates the role of women, and more specifically of mothers, as representatives of the *oikos* and examines their participation in private and public family ceremonies. The timeframe of the study is purposefully restricted within the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods (roughly from 530 to 470-450 BCE) because of the abundance of

female and joint family dedications, and the richness of contextual evidence available for comparison. Diverse classes of material are brought into examination in order to achieve plurality of evidence while investigating the role of women within family rituals and dedications.[1] Starting with an exploration of the inscribed dedications, I proceed with an overview of the imagery of votive *pinakes* (plaques) and reliefs, along with a survey on shapes and iconography of the pottery deposited on the Acropolis.[2]

3 Before I embark on the study of maternal dedications from the Acropolis, it is important to remember the parameters that obscure this endeavor. When discussing finds from the Acropolis, one needs to be aware of the inadequate methodologies used during the early excavations of the 19th century, which resulted in confusing stratigraphy and lacking documentation (Glowacki 1998, p. 79, esp. n. 4; Schulze 2004, p. 11-14; Stewart 2008). Furthermore, one has to acknowledge that neither all objects found on the Sacred Rock had a votive character, nor was Athena the sole recipient of the dedicated objects.[3] Similarly, as with the majority of dedications in Greek sanctuaries, not all dedications carry inscriptions and even when they are inscribed, not all of them give the name of the donor. To make things more challenging, even when a woman's name is attested as the devotee, it is rarely accompanied by information about her family status, leaving us in the dark about her position within the *oikos*.[4]

Inscribed Offerings

4 Despite the limitations outlined above, I was able to detect nearly forty inscribed offerings from the Acropolis naming a woman dedicator, dated between the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods (Table 1). Of these, only two were offered specifically by mothers, a bronze hydria and a marble votive pillar, while one can make a case for several other bronze and a couple of clay vessels and attempt to interpret them as maternal dedications (see discussion below). At least two examples from the second half of the fifth century were offered by married women, allowing the assumption that they were mothers, as well (*IG* I^3 888 ca. 450 BCE [wife of Eumelides], 894 [wife of Prepis]). Moreover, it is not uncommon for a relative, such as a spouse, a child, a parent or a sibling, to fulfill a dedication on behalf of a woman (mother or other), *e.g.*, *IG* I^3 703 (Thoutime), 745 (Aristomache and Archestrate), and from the fourth century *IG* II^2 4914 (Alkippe), but, despite the variety of our samples, the majority of female offerings reveals little information about a woman's family ties.

Table 1. Catalogue of Inscribed Female Votives from the Late Archaic-Early Classical Acropolis

	IG I^3	Object	Inv. No.	Date (BCE)	Findspot	Dedicator
1	536	Bronze base	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 6944; Lazzarini 1976, no. 667	480	?	Glyke
2	537	Bronze base	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 6942	480	?	Ch]alchis and Thethis

3	538	Bronze base	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 6947; Lazzarini 1976, no. 25	ca. 480	?	Klearete
4	540	Bronze statuette of Athena Promachos	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6447; Lazzarini 1976, no. 647	ca. 480	?	Meleso
5	546	Bronze miniature shield	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 6837; Lazzarini 1976, no. 46	ca. 500	?	Phrygia
6	547	Bronze cymbal	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 17525; Lazzarini 1976, no. 632	500-475	?	Lysilla
7	548bis	Bronze mirror handle	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6944	480	From the Brauroneia sanctuary	Glyke
8	555	Bronze *chernibeion* (handle)	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7176; Lazzarini 1976, no. 229	525-500	?	Timagora
9	560	Bronze phiale	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 726; Lazzarini 1976, no. 12 (Nika)	500-480	?	Nika[tta]
10	565	Bronze *chernibeion*	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7336; Lazzarini 1976, no. 648	Early fifth century	?	Kapanis
11	567	Bronze *lekane*	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7271; Lazzarini 1976, no. 670	ca. 475-450	?	Meli[tei]a
12	571	Bronze *oinochoe*	Acropolis Museum 5902; Lazzarini 1976, no. 16	ca. 500-480	?	Himera?

13	572	Bronze *oinochoe* handle	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 17524; Lazzarini 1976, no. 10	Early fifth century	?	Myrto
14	573	Bronze *hydria*	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7294; Lazzarini 1976, 277, no 717	500-480	?	A mother on behalf of her sons
15	574	Bronze *hydria*	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7274; Lazzarini 1976, no. 666	ca. 475		S]mikythe
16	577	*Kylix*	Acropolis Museum 5897	ca. 500-480	?	Smikra
17	609	Base of three tripods	Lazzarini 1976, no 237	End of sixth century		Chionis
18	615	Pillar monument	Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6321; Lazzarini 1976, no. 617; Raubitschek 1949, no. 232	525-510	In the Persershutt near the Tholos	Ergokleia
19	656	Low base	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6250; Raubitschek 1949, no. 81	ca. 510-500	fr a: east of Parthenon, fr b: SW corner of Parthenon.	Ph]sakythe
20	683	Votive column	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6241; Lazzarini 1976, no. 3; Raubitschek 1949, no. 3	510-500	fr a: Found east of the Parthenon, fr b: near north wall, ca 50 meters west of where most of the korai were found, fr c: SW from Parthenon	Iphidike

21	700	Low base	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 12780 + 6383; Lazzarini 1976, no. 23; Raubitschek 1949, no. 93	ca. 490	Found in the pit under the Parthenon column drum, built into the north wall	Phryne and Smik[ythe]
22	703	Votive pillar crowned by capital	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6333 +6475; Raubitschek 1949, no. 284	Early fifth century	?	On behalf of Thoutime
23	745	Low statue base	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6301; Löhr 2000, no. 23; Raubitschek 1949, no. 79	500-480?	Found near the north wall	On behalf of Aristomache and Archestrate
24	767	Votive column	Acropolis Museum, courtyard no inv. no.; Lazzarini 1976, no. 649b; Raubitschek 1949, no. 25	500-480	?	Empedia
25	773	Animal statue base	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6263 +6263a; Löhr 33, no. 33	500-480	Found between the Erechtheion and Propylaia	For the mother of Timarchos
26	794	Base for ritual basin	Acropolis Museum 607; Raubitschek 1949, no. 380	Early fifth century	Found in debris inside the Parthenon	Smikythe
27	803	Pillar monument	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6401; Raubitschek 1949, no. 201	ca. 490	?	My]rine
28	813	Pillar monument	Acropolis Museum no inv. no.; Lazzarini 1976, no. 227; Raubitschek 1949, no. 258	ca. 480	Found in the Acropolis wall, NW of the Mycenean stairway	Pheido

29	814	Votive column	Acropolis Museum, no inv. no.; Lazzarini 1976, no. 649a; Raubitschek 1949, no. 33	500-490	Found near the Erechtheion	Kalis
30	857	Pillar monument	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6254 Athens, Epigraphical Museum G254; Lazzarini 1976, no. 678; Löhr 2000, no. 47; Raubitschek 1949, no. 298	470-450	Near the south wall of the Acropolis	M]ikythe
31	858	Pillar monument	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8169; Löhr 2000, no. 46; Raubitschek 1949, no. 297	Second quarter of the fifth century	?	Aristomache and Charikleia
32	888	Base for ritual basin	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6326; Raubitschek 1949, no. 378	ca. 450	Found near the Erechtheion	Wife of Eumelides
33	921	Ritual basin	Epigraphical Museum 6541 +5503; Lazzarini 1976, no. 609b; Raubitschek 1949, no. 348	ca. 490-480		Kalikri]te
34	934	Ritual basin	Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6527; Lazzarini 1976, no. 620; Raubitschek 1949, no. 369	480	?	Kal]listo
35	*IG* II/III ^{2} 2950	Vase	Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 2, no. 1337; Lazzarini 1976, no. 11	6th century	?	Sabys (male?)

36	*IG* II/III² 3460	Foot of a vase	Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 2, no. 1349, pl. 92	End of sixth sixth century	?	T]im[o]strat [a]
37	Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 54, no. 13	Bronze lekanis	Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 18497 and X 7109; unpublished	525-470	?	Peithylla
38	Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 1, no. 1295A-K, pl. 72.1295	*Skyphos*	Acropolis Museum 1.1295	Last third of the sixth	One ostrakon found in the Parthenon foundation	]kleia

5 The offerings vary in size, material and value, and comprise marble ritual basins, pillars and columns, pedestals and bases, bronze vessels, and other objects, such as statuettes.[5] Overall, the date of the inscribed dedications ranges between the last quarter of the sixth through the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, while their exact findspot on the Acropolis usually remains unknown.

6 Despite their difference in numbers, women's and men's offerings on the Acropolis are indistinguishable, *i.e.*, there are no types of dedications specifically associated with women (Ridgway 1987, p. 402; Löhr 2000, p. 232-233), with the exception perhaps of the bronze phiale, a point to which we shall return.[6] Women of means can offer expensive gifts to Athena, even if they are not Athenian citizens (*e.g.*, *IG* I³ 858 [Aristomache and Charikleia], Raubitschek 1949, p. 320-321, no. 297; *IG* I³ 683 [Iphidike], Dillon 2002, p. 17; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 52, no. 11), while professional women donate small or large gifts and identify themselves through their line of work (*e.g.*, *IG* I³ 794 *plyntria* [Raubitschek 1949, p. 407-408, no. 380; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 51, no. 10], *IG* I³ 546 *artopolis* [Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 64-65, no. 23]; Ridgway 1987, p. 402; cf. the studies of Brock 1994; Kron 1996, p. 161-163; Kosmopoulou 2001; Dillon 2002, p. 15-17; Vikela 2005, p. 97-99). Votive offerings are frequently characterized as a *dekate*, a gift equal to one tenth of one's income, or as an *aparche*, a symbolic offering from the first profits of an activity, whether commercial, agricultural, or even the acceptance of dowry and inheritance (*e.g.*, *IG* I³ 547, 615, 921, 934; *IG* I³ 536, 540, 548bis, 565, 567, 574, 767, 794, 857; Löhr 2000, p. 232-233; Keesling 2003, p. 6-10 and 2005, p. 398 citing Herodotus 1.92.1-4). Few dedicatory inscriptions include the name of the artist (*e.g.*, *IG* I³ 703, 857; Raubitschek 1949, nos. 284, 298; Dillon 2002, p. 14-19; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 52, no. 11).

7 After 450 BCE female dedications on the Sacred Rock are less frequently displayed in public and instead votive offerings typically associated with women, such as phialai and jewelry, are registered in inventory lists and kept within the temples (Harris 1995 and here n. 18). Looking at other Attic sanctuaries of the Classical era, we come across a few surviving exceptions to this practice, the most notable being the Xenokrateia relief from Neo Phalero, dedicated to the river god Kephissos for the upbringing of her son around the end of fifth century BCE (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2576; *IG* I³ 987; Kron 1996, p. 166-168; Dillon 2002, p. 24-25, fig. 1.3; on the placement and arrangement of

votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries, see von Straten 1990). In the fourth century, women devotees continue to appear in inscriptions: mothers may set up dedications for their children on their own or jointly with a spouse, while male relatives often undertake the fulfillment of a vow on behalf of female family members.[7]

Fig. 1: Fragmentary bronze *hydria*. Acropolis, ca. 500-480 BCE.

After Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 56, no. 15.

8 This brief overview illustrates the challenges involved in the study of female dedications in general, let alone that of maternal votive offerings. A rare example of the latter is the bronze vessel from the Athenian Acropolis, dated between 500-480 BCE (Fig. 1). This fragmentary bronze hydria preserves only portions of the neck and about half the rim of the vase, which was partially inscribed on its upper surface: Ζενός: Ἐρ[κείου]... [υπέρ αὐ]τῆς καὶ παίδων: θεκεν: ἄγαλμα :ετεον (*IG* I^3 573; Löhr 2000, p. 29, no. 27; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 56, no. 15 [N. Palaiokrassa]). The inscription informs us that the luxurious gift was an *agalma* dedicated not to Athena, but to Zeus Herkeios. Even though the word *agalma* is usually associated with the cult statue of a deity, it may also denote a sacred object or the very object carrying the dedication, through which a deity is glorified. In this case the latter explanation seems more appropriate: unless we assume a statue of a kore, for example, carrying the hydria, the bronze water jar must be the *agalma* mentioned in the inscription, thus forming an "objet parlant" (Keesling 2003, p. 10, 19-20; Day 2011, p. 85-130).

9 On the Acropolis, Zeus was worshipped as Polieus in his homonymous shrine on the eastern part of the Sacred Rock, and as Herkeios inside the sanctuary of Pandrosos, west of the Erechtheion, where an altar was dedicated to him (Philochoros fr. 67 = *FGrHist* 3 F 118; Dionysos Halicarnassos *On Dinarchus* 3; Travlos 1971, 213-214; Thorikos Sacred Calendar *SEG* 33.147.22 and 33.147.13; cf. also, a possible votive to Zeus Polieus, Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 71, no. 29). Zeus Herkeios was predominantly a household deity and altars were set up in his name within house courtyards. As his epithet suggests, he oversaw the boundaries of the family and its property. Sacrifices to Zeus Herkeios were performed by the male head of the family (Faraone 2008, esp. p. 212-213; Boedecker 2008, p. 228-234, 240-242 commenting on [Aristoteles] *Athenaiôn Politeia* 55 and Demosthenes 57.67). It is all the more striking to have a woman dedicating an expensive metal vessel to

Zeus Herkeios, an action that equates her to the status of a male *oikos* representative. This observation brings us to the most stimulating feature of the inscription, the identity of the dedicators: a woman and her children, more accurately, her sons. Contrary to the norm that wants the *kyrios* in charge of making offerings and publically representing the *oikos* within the polis, this bronze hydria was dedicated jointly by a mother and her sons.[8] Such an extraordinary case could be explained as a rare occasion where the male head of the family is deceased or for some reason unable to perform his duties.

10 According to John Ma's study on Hellenistic honorific portraits, the formula *hyper hautes kai paidon* is best translated as "on account of," "on behalf of" or "for the safety of." A votive given "*hyper* someone" can be a religious offering, an act of thanksgiving, or the fulfillment of a vow, while the usage of the word *paidon* instead of *teknon* hints to a rather emotional motive.[9] More critical is Christoph Löhr's observation that the *hyper* dedications are usually associated with a prayer for the health of a relative, such as curing an illness or escaping danger, and that the phrase is most common among votive offerings by mothers and children. The bronze hydria offered to Zeus Herkeios seems to fall into this very category (*e.g.*, *hyper*: *IG* I^3 857 [Mikythe] from the fourth century: *IG* II^2 4883 [Hipparche], 4613 [Lysistrate], 4588 [Phile]; beyond Athens in the fifth century: *IG* IX 2 575 [Argeia]. Cf. Löhr 2000, p. 114, 129, 134, 148-149, 232-233, nos. 135, 148, 153, 169, and several dedications to Asklepeios).

11 A second example of maternal dedications from the Late Archaic period is a marble votive pillar that once carried a sculpture by Euphron, dated ca. 470-450 BCE (Raubitschek 1939/1940, 28-29; Keesling 2005, p. 410-411, n. 56, 61). As in the case of the bronze hydria, it is the object that speaks: [Μ]ικύθη μ' ἀνέθ[ηκεν] / [Ἀθ]ηναίη το [ἄγαλμα] / [εὐ]ξαμένη δ[εκάτην] / [καί] ὑπέρ παί[δων] / [κ]αί ἑαυτῆ[ς] / Εὔφρων [ἐπο][ί]ησεν (*IG* I^3 857; Raubitschek 1949, p. 321-322, no. 298; Ridgway 1987, p. 401; Dillon 2002, p. 15-17). Note that the inscription is written in Ionian dialect, reflecting perhaps the origins of the dedicator, and mentions that a woman named Mikythe offers an *agalma* on behalf of herself and her sons (*hyperpaidon kai heautes*) to Athena thus fulfilling a vow (*euxamene*). This time, however, the recipient deity is not Zeus Herkeios but Athena. The lack of patronymic has lead some scholars to suggest that Mikythe is a metic or a foreigner, but according to Uta Kron (1996, p. 161), such a motherly prayer is more typical of an Athenian citizen (*aste*). The dedication was made as a *dekate*, making one wonder what the occasion was for such a votive: perhaps mother and sons were involved in some family business or maybe they received an inheritance, from the deceased (?) father or other family protector, which might explain why the monument was dedicated by the mother and her children. Alternatively, the votive could commemorate an event in the life of the *paides*, upon which the family made a vow (*euche*) and, for some reason, it became the mother's duty to materialize it. As Löhr points out (2000, p. 232-233; cf. Keesling 2003, p. 4-6; for an overview of women as ritual agents in epigrams, see Day 2011, p. 190), the word *dekate* indicates the prosperity of a family but on the other hand, the term *euxamene* hints to a religious obligation, thus emphasizing both the social and religious motives of the dedication (*e.g.*, *euxamenos(e)*: *IG* I^3 703, 745, 773; from the fourth century: *IG* II^2 4403, 4588).

12 Both the bronze hydria and the votive pillar allow the hypothesis that it is a mother's relation to her sons and the temporary gap in the line of male citizens in the family that compel her to act on behalf of the *oikos*. The public display of expensive gifts to deities worshipped on the Acropolis is not only a demonstration of wealth and piety, but rather

an effort to maintain the family's social status during transitional periods, marked by the absence of a male family leader. A mother in her own right may temporarily fill in a man's shoes, but she is still defined socially through her ties to male relatives. As an unmarried girl, she is identified through her relation to her father, as a wife by her allegiance to her husband, while in their absence a mother can be defined by her sons, the legal heirs to the family. It is noteworthy that there are no preserved inscriptions naming a mother as the sole dedicator, while dedications made by a mother and/on behalf of her daughter(s) are equally rare.[10]

13 Similar to the dedications described above are two inscribed maternal offerings from Archaic Paros, which were probably meant to be displayed on Delos (Stehle 1997, p. 115-116). The first inscription informs us that a certain Telestodike, mother of Asphalios and daughter of Therselos, dedicated an *agalma* to Artemis, possibly for the benefit of her son who is named first. There is no mention of a husband, same as in Mikythe's example, which is indicative of a certain level of financial independence on her part (*IG* XII 5, 216; Kron 1996, p. 157-158; Löhr 2000, p. 24-25, no. 21; Dillon 2002, p. 11-12; Day 2011, p. 188-189).

14 The second inscription refers to a joint dedication by the same (?) Telestodike and her husband Demodekes, who offered an *agalma* to Artemis from common capital, in hope for increase of their finances and family (*IG* XII 5, 215; Kron 1996, p. 158; Löhr 2000, p. 24-25, no. 21; Dillon 2002, p. 11-12). Even if this second Telestodike is not clearly defined as a mother, from her dedication we can infer her desire to become pregnant: having an heir was just as important for the *oikos* as maintaining the family's prosperity.

15 The hypothesis that these two votive offerings were meant to be set up at the sanctuary of Artemis on Delos, controlled by Peisistratos of Athens at the time, is perhaps suggestive of an ongoing exchange of social and religious practices, since both elite Parian and Athenian women seem to enjoy similar privileges in representing the *oikos* and themselves within a public, religious setting. In this light, the dedications from the Acropolis and Paros can be construed as proof of the social position of elite women in the Archaic period, and particularly of the visibility aristocratic mothers enjoyed while publicly expressing their religious sentiments through dedications (Kron 1996; Day 2011, p. 187-190). Such a display of power and piety reflects not only the social status of the mother as an isolated devotee, but also it functions as a public acknowledgement of the women's contribution to the well-being of the Archaic *oikos*.

Pinakes

16 The next body of evidence involves a group of *pinakes, i.e.*, clay, painted or relief votive plaques, which were common, inexpensive dedications in many Greek sanctuaries. We focus on them here because they were exclusively votive objects with no other function, in contrast to, say, cups, *loutrophoroi* and other ceramic products that may have had a functional usage before they were ritually deposited in the sanctuary (Vlassopoulou 2003, p. 17-22, 23-45; Schulze 2004, p. 7-11).

17 In her study, Kyriaki Karoglou points out that the majority of Attic votive plaques date between the late sixth and early fifth century and argues that such modest offerings were probably dedicated by *banausoi* and women because they were more affordable than the lavish marble or bronze votive offerings (Karoglou 2010, p. 44 chart, 49-61), a theory that

can be challenged based on the dedications examined earlier. With regard to iconography, Athena's representations on *pinakes* are predominant, especially as Promachos. According to Karoglou, this trend indicates a deep connection with the Panathenaic festival by association to the Athena Promachos depicted on Panathenaic amphoras. Herakles is an equally popular subject, along with warrior-scenes, horsemen, and chariots, echoing the repertory of contemporary Attic vase painting. It is interesting to note that at least two *pinakes* represent the judgment of Paris, while five scenes can be associated with the female sphere, as they illustrate women in processions, holding wreaths or within a domestic setting (Karoglou 2010, esp. p. 19-20, and 56-59 for the connection to the Panathenaic Games; cf. Wagner 2001; Schulze 2004, p. 11-14, 16-40, esp. 38-40; on relief votive plaques: Vlassopoulou 2003, p. 42-66).

Fig. 2: Fragmentary black-figure painted plaque ca. 550 BCE.

After Foley 2003, p. 118-119, fig. 7.

18 Even though there is no concrete proof (*e.g.*, an inscription) that a plaque was offered by a mother, there is one *pinax* that could be conceived as a maternal dedication: the fragmentary black-figure plaque from ca. 550 BCE, preserving a rare snapshot of the women's quarters (Fig. 2) (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 2525; Graef and Langlotz 1909, no. 2525, pl. 104; Beaumont 2003, p. 63; Foley 2003, p. 118-119, fig. 7; Schulze 2004, p. 38, no. 22, pl. 12.46). Seated on a stool and dressed in a *peplos*, a woman is depicted working with a flat white object on the table in front of her. Colorful sashes, piles of clothes and textiles are shown in the background. Behind her a young girl, probably her daughter, is sitting on the floor. Her young age, indicated by her nudity (white overpaint) and the fact that she is playing with balls of wool instead of helping with the work, supports her identification as a daughter rather than an assistant.[11]

19 Depending on the interpretation of the white object as wool or textile, the seated woman has been recognized as a washer, a weaver, and a sash-seller (Foley 2003, p. 119, fig. 7; Schulze 2004, p. 38-40, no. 122, pl. 12.46; cf., the Early Classical terracotta group from Tanagra with a woman teaching a girl to cook, Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 257, no. 61). Consequently, the black-figure plaque is taken to be a craftsman's offering, albeit a modest one compared to the expensive dedications of other professionals. Indeed, the scene illustrated on the plaque would be appropriate for a dedication made by a mother running a business: not only does she offer her gratitude to Athena (Ergane?) for helping her sustain a living but at the same time she publicizes her skillful work.

20 There are, however, two more alternatives: first, the plaque could have been offered by an Athenian citizen who thanks the goddess for the gift of her craft, a skill she will then pass on to her daughter and thus prepare her for her future role as a responsible housewife. After all, weaving was an essential factor in *oikos*-management and a much-desired quality for a bride-to-be, as Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (7.6) informs us. Undoubtedly, the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis was the best place to advertize such a promising bride.[12]

21 Alternatively, the scene may be related to the imagery of a group of relief *pinakes* showing a girl weaving, often recognized as a young Athena Ergane (Pausanias 1.24.3; Brouskari 1974, p. 41, pls. 65, 66, 67; Vlassopoulou 2003, p. 51-52, 72-74, pls. 5, 34-36, nos. 106-109; Schulze 2004, p. 39). The joint depiction of a pre-adolescent girl and an older woman, possibly her mother, brings to mind Pierre Brulé's hypothesis (1987, p. 99-105) that the mothers of the *ergastinai*, the young girls responsible for weaving Athena's *peplos*, were somehow involved in the ritual process, as well.[13] However, according to Jan Müller's work on the inscribed dedications of Athena Ergane from Athens, the goddess is first mentioned in the literary sources only in the fifth century BCE, while epigraphically her cult is not attested until the fourth century (Müller 2010, p. 163-167, 171). After the fourth century, it seems that the epithet of Ergane is absorbed within the larger aspect of Athena Polias. Even though an association of the plaque with Athena Ergane remains problematic, its imagery still allows the assumption that the *pinax* was offered by a mother, based on the iconographic analysis pursued above.

Pottery

22 Let us now turn to the pottery deposited on the Acropolis from ca. 550 to 475 BCE. As expected, a survey of the publication of Botho Graef and Ernst Langlotz (1925-1933) and the Beazley Archive Pottery Database in Oxford turned hundreds of vases (BAPD http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm, last visit 18/5/2013, date range 550-500 and 525-475 BCE, provenance key "Athens, Acropolis"; total number of vases ca. 700 including plaques and a few overlaps between the two periods; number reflects only the figural pottery, not the plain styles). For this reason, the results were refined by two criteria ; a) the number of vases carrying dedicatory inscriptions, and b) the potential contribution of a study of shapes and iconography to our quest for maternal dedications (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2: Black- and Red-Figure Attic Pottery from the Acropolis between 550-475 BCE

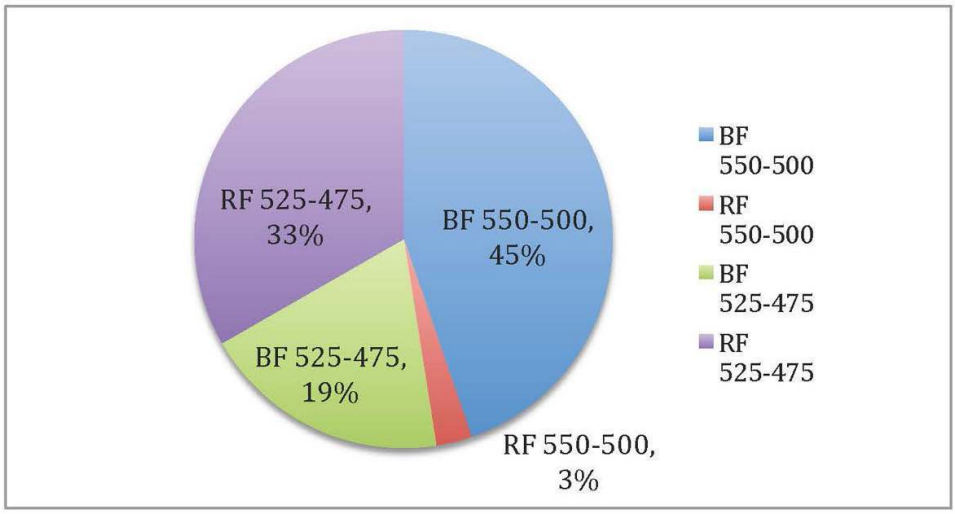
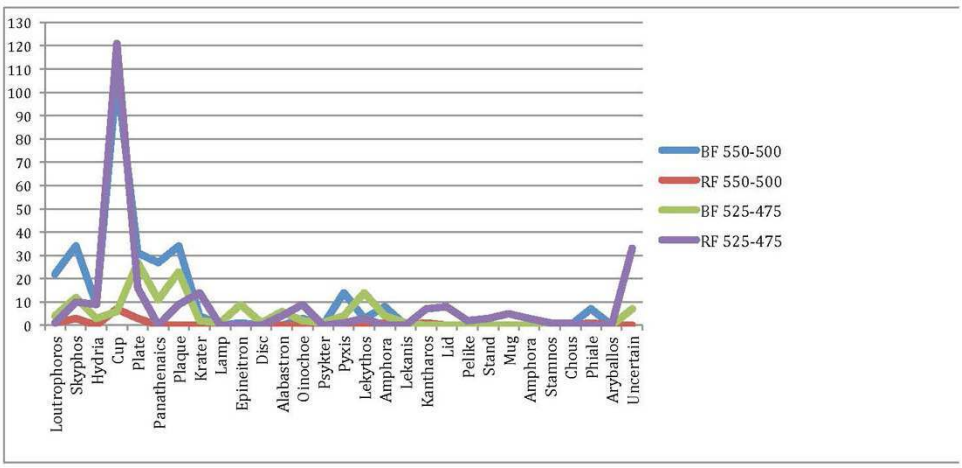


Table 3: Correlation of Black- and Red-Figure Shapes from the Acropolis between 550-475 BCE



23 Starting from the last question, the results are disappointing: neither the study of shapes, [14] nor of iconography alone[15] offers any substantial evidence to pursue this research path. Equally challenging is the study of inscribed vases: the percentage of Late Archaic-Early Classical pots with dedicatory inscriptions is quite low.[16] The phrase *hiera tes Athenas* and the single word *hiera* occur often, but their meaning can be confusing, as they may characterize both votive objects and property items of the sanctuary.[17]

24 We are on safer ground with vases that carry a dedication with the word *anetheken*, *dekate,* or *aparche*, but, lamentably, there is only a handful of them preserved. One such example is the black-figure *hydria* that depicts the myth of Icaros and the birth of Athena attended by deities, most of them named (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 601; *ABV* 80.1, 682; *Para* 30; Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 1, pl. 28). Unfortunately, the name of the dedicator is missing, preventing us from making any further suggestions.[18] In other cases, the name of the devotee is preserved but we have no indication of her family

status, as for example the fragmentary vase naming Timostrata (Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 2, no. 1349, pl. 92).

Fig. 3: Fragmentary black-figure *skyphos*, ca. 530-500 BCE.

After Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 2, no. 1349, pl. 92.

25 Despite this conservative approach, there are still a couple of vases that can be interpreted as maternal dedications based on a joint examination of inscriptions and iconography. Our best example involves a black-figure *skyphos* with the dedicatory inscription ἱερά [τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ---] ---]κλεια ἀνέθ[ηκεν] dated to the last third of the sixth century BCE (BAPD 32105; Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 1, no. 1295A-K, pl. 72.1295; Acropolis Museum 1.1295) (Fig. 3). It depicts a sacrificial procession of draped men and women towards two altars, carrying an *oinochoe*, a *kanoun*, and a piglet, while a swan or heron is found in front of one of the altars.[19] The recipients of the sacrifice appear to be two goddesses seated on *diphroi* inside buildings decorated with branches. Based on the inscription, one may assume that the scene commemorates a sacrificial procession in honor of Athena and possibly a second female deity. Athena can be identified as the goddess in the elaborate dress, carrying a large bird (perhaps an owl).[20] The presence of a swan or a heron near the second deity hints towards Aphrodite, while the sacrificial victim of choice, a piglet, suggests a fertility deity, such as Demeter or Kourotrophos (*ThesCRA* I 79-82, no. 286 [A. Hermary et al.]). Let us keep in mind though that pigs can also be sacrificed in honor of Athena on private ceremonies and public festivals, such as the Panathenaia or the *Apatouria*.[21]

26 In her study, Ingebor Scheibler (2000) associated certain types of large Attic *skyphoi* from around 500 BCE (including the one dedicated by]kleia) with wine drinking festivals, such as the Anthesteria or more plausibly, the *Apatouria*. Drawing from Athenaeus and Hesychius, she proposed that we identify these large *skyphoi* with the *oinisteria* cups that

each father offered upon the introduction of his son to his phratry during the *Apatouria*. This practice is similar to the communal drinking of the ephebes from a *mega poterion* (a large cup), following the offering of wine to Herakles at the same festival (Athenaeus 11.494-496 [Pamphilos]; Hesychius *s.v. oinisteria*; *RE* XVII2 [1937] 2229 [L. Ziehen]; von Straten 1990, p. 277-278; Scheibler 2000, esp. p. 37-39; Mikalson 2010, p. 142-143).

Fig. 4: Red-figure *loutrophoros*, ca. 520-510 BCE.

After Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 256-257, no. 116.

27 Our study so far indicates that both the shape and the decoration of the *skyphos* offered by the woman named [...]kleia and described above are somehow related to a public, family ceremony in which Athena, and possibly Aphrodite or Kourotrophos, are invoked. Our analysis can be further enhanced by the examination of a similar sacrificial procession decorating the neck of a large red-figure *loutrophoros* by Phintias dated ca. 520-510 BCE (National Museun of Athens, Acr. 636; *ABV* 673; *ARV*^{2} 25.1, 237, 1604; Graef and Langlotz 1933, vol. 2, no. 636, pl. 50-51; *ThesCRA* I, 114, no. 457 and II, 371-374 [A. Hermary *et al.*]; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 256-257, no. 116 [G. Kavvadias]) (Fig. 4). The vase has no dedicatory inscription but several figures in the procession are named. Two youths carrying *thalloi* (branches) and an *oinochoe* lead a pregnant sow to sacrifice, followed by two adult men: Mitron carries branches and Lykos plays the *auloi*. Next come two women, possibly members of Mitron's family, also carrying branches; they are elegantly dressed and involved in vivid conversation, judging from their gestures. There are three more inscriptions on the vase, one naming a certain Proxenides, and two *kalos* inscriptions, praising the beauty of the *pais* and of Olympiodoros. Praising the beautiful youths and specifying by name the male participants of the procession indicates a deliberate attempt to highlight the qualities of the family and its male members. At the same time, the women of the *oikos* play an important role in this event, as they reinforce the family's public image through their expensive clothes and graceful gestures.

28 This scene is extraordinary because it is the only one of its kind found on a *loutrophoros*, a shape usually associated with nuptial baths or funeral rites. The animal brought for sacrifice, a pregnant pig, is traditionally offered to fertility deities and not to Athena, and perhaps fecundity was the donor's request. Giorgos Kavvadias (in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 256-257, no. 116) disassociates the sacrificial procession from the *Panathenaia* and suggests a sacrifice not to Athena as Polias, but either to a different aspect of the goddess or to another deity or hero altogether.

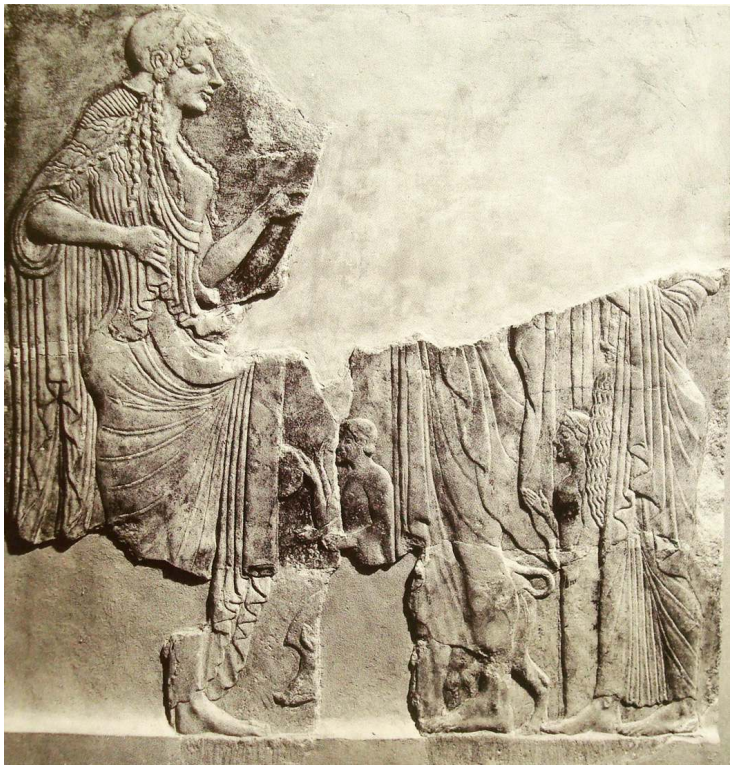
29 A joint examination of the scenes depicted on the black-figure *skyphos* and the red-figure *loutrophoros* brings forth the following common elements: a family (?) sacrificial procession takes place on the Acropolis, with both male and female members participating. The sacrificial animal in both cases is a pig and/or a sow, suggesting a preoccupation with fertility. If we accept Athena as the (co-)recipient of both sacrifices, then we need to look for an occasion where the patron deity of Athens oversees a family-oriented, fertility rite. In this light, one may suggest the sacrifice of *gamelia* during the third day of the *Apatouria*, known as *Koureotis*, which linked the bride-to-be with the phratry of her future husband, even though a woman's presence during the sacrifice is not clearly stated in the sources (Isaios 3.76, 79; 6.64; 8.18; Pollux 8.107; Demosthenes 57.43, 69; Hesychius *s.v. gamelia*; Schmitt Pantel 1977, p. 1059-1060; Cole 1984, p. 233-238; Golden 1985; *ThesCR*A II, 233, 235, nos. 112, 113 [P. Schmitt Pantel-Fr. Lissarrague]).

30 Such a hypothesis explains the joint representation of Athena with a fertility deity (Aphrodite or Kourotrophos), and the pig as a sacrificial animal of choice: the sacrifice takes place at Athena's precinct as it introduces the bride to her husband's tribe, but at the same time the devotees seek the favor of deities associated with marriage and procreation. Also, the shapes of the two vases in question and the inscription on the *skyphos* concur with this interpretation: the *loutrophoros* is a vase commonly used for nuptial rituals, while, as we saw earlier, the large *skyphos* has been associated with the *Apatouria* festival.

31 If our hypothesis stands, one may read the scene illustrated on the black-figure *skyphos* as a family procession to the Acropolis and interpret the vase as a rare *oikos*-dedication undertaken not by the father but perhaps by the acting-family-representative, the mother named [...]kleia. This fragmentary scene is reminiscent of the well-known votive relief from the Acropolis that has been tentatively recognized as a family visit at *Apatouria* (see below). The iconographic similarities between the two vases and the relief, along with their contemporaneity, encourage such an approach and invite a reevaluation of the role of women – and mothers in particularly – in family festivals.

Reliefs

Fig. 5: Marble votive relief. Acropolis, ca. 490-480 BCE.



After Palagia 1995, pl. 114a.

32 Let us now turn to the marble votive relief from the Acropolis dated ca. 490-480 BCE (Acropolis Museum 581; Brouskari 1974, p. 52-53, pl. 94; Palagia 1995; Dillon 2002, p. 31-32, fig. 1.4; Neils 2003, p. 144-145; Vikela 2005, esp. p. 93-95, n. 24, pl. 12.2.) (Fig. 5). It depicts a family approaching a standing, *kore*-like Athena in a solemn procession: two twin (?) boys, one carrying a phiale and the other making a gesture of adoration, lead the group, while the father brings in a sow for sacrifice (cf. also Lawton 2007 for the Classical period). Behind them follow an older sister and the mother, who is sometimes, mistakenly, described as pregnant because of the large overfold of her *peplos*. This is indeed a unique piece, because, even though it represents a private, family sacrifice, it was displayed in a public setting.

33 In her interpretation of the relief, Eugenia Vikela (2005, p. 93-95, 156-159) argues against its association with the *Apatouria*, mainly because it represents the whole family and not a father with his son alone. Instead, she pursues a reading with political connotations: the minimal distance between the goddess and the worshippers, the only somewhat smaller size of the couple *vis-à-vis* the deity, and Athena's forward tilting of the head giving the impression that she leans over to hear their prayers, are, according to Vikela, components of a developing iconography that reflects a newly obtained self-assertion of the citizen towards the city-deity. This new attitude can only be explained as the result of new political and social norms (Kleisthenes' reforms) and the rise of the middle class with their renewed self-esteem.

34 On the other hand, Palagia (1995) offers a different approach: the fact that the boys are so prominently leading the procession led her to the conclusion that the scene relates to the festival of *Apatouria*. The sow that is brought to sacrifice strengthens this argument, as

epigraphic evidence attests to pig sacrifices to Athena.[22] In this light, the goddess does not need to be associated with Kourotrophos, who is after all a deity on her own right on the Acropolis (Pausanias 2.33.1), but can be recognized as Athena Phratria. If this suggestion is correct, then we gain a rare representation of the *Apatouria* festival and visual evidence of the participation of female family members, mother and daughter, to the ceremony.

35 The patron deities of Athenian phratries, Athena Phratria and Zeus Phratrios, were worshipped in the Agora, while the possibility of a phratry shrine or a state cult of Athena Phratria on the Acropolis is still disputed. Palagia (1995, p. 498-499) has argued for the existence of a phratry shrine by the Medontidai on account of a *horos* stone that was found outside the Beulé gate on the Acropolis, but there is no firm evidence to support her hypothesis. In her case's defense, I wonder if the so-called Mourning Athena relief, dated around 470-460 BCE, may also be associated with Athena Phratria: the goddess could be reading the new phratry registrations carved on the pillar rather than contemplating in front of a funerary monument or a running post, as suggested in the past (Acropolis Museum 695; Brouskari 1974, p. 123-124, 129, pl. 237; Schäfer 1996, p. 120, n. 43; Vikela 2005, p. 101-103; Palagia 2006, p. 121; Thomsen 2011, p. 205; Valavanis 2013, p. 60).

Fig. 6: Marble votive relief. Acropolis, mid-fourth century BCE.

After Shapiro 2003, p. 97-98, fig. 14.

36 It is interesting to contrast this family portrait of the Archaic period to a mid-fourth century relief from the Acropolis, thought to represent the introduction of a young boy to his father's phratry (Acropolis Museum 3030; Shapiro 2003, p. 97-98, fig. 14, esp. n. 69; Neils 2003, p. 145, n. 19) (Fig. 6). It depicts a man wrapped in his mantle slowly pacing towards Athena. Even though most of the goddess' figure is missing, she is still identifiable by the owl perched on her right hand and by the partially preserved crested

helmet. The boy paces in front of his father and holds his hands out in awe. All three figures stand on an elevated platform, which may demarcate a shrine on the Acropolis, possibly a phratry shrine (?), while the relief itself is crowned by a pediment – a feature uncharacteristic of votive reliefs, and thus perhaps another indication of the sacred space where the scene develops (cf. Vikela 2005, p. 132-133).

37 If we accept that both the Archaic and the Late Classical reliefs represent a scene from the *Apatouria*, then we notice a striking change with regard to the ritual: a festival that in its initial stage linked the *oikos* with the city and had a celebratory character that probably included female family members, overtime it transformed into a state registration ceremony that excluded women, and stressed the role of Athena as the protector of male citizens.[23]

Conclusion

38 Being a mother in ancient Athens was the peak in a woman's life and proof that she had successfully transgressed all previous stages from childhood to puberty to womanhood. As the wife of an Athenian citizen, her main role was to provide him with healthy heirs – preferably males – and efficiently manage the *oikos* (for a study on Athenian women and their visibility in vase paintings: Lewis 2002). Since the mortality rate during childbirth of both mothers and children in antiquity was quite high, seeking the protection of the gods was a common practice. Pregnant women were considered as a source of pollution (*miasma*) and important religious functions were undertaken to purge mother and child, as well as the whole *oikos* after birth. This is why it was very important that mother and infant were bathed, and thus purified, in water from a sacred spring, washing away the pollution (Parker 1983, p. 48-66; Dillon 2002, p. 178, 250-254; Foley 2003, p. 130-137; Neils 2003, p. 143; Oakley 2003, p. 163-194. Cf. the imagery on two fourth-century Attic gravestones: Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 143, 222-224, nos. 19, 20).

39 Based on this information, one wonders if the fragments of large ritual basins, along with the bronze *lekanes*, *chernibeia*, *hydriai* and other water containers from the Acropolis could be associated with such purification rites. Granted, such vessels are multivalent and can perform many functions, but it is striking that a) at least four marble basins were dedicated by women (*e.g.*, *IG* I^3 794, 888, 921, 934; on *louteria* and *perirrhanteria* as cultic implements, see Kron 1996, p. 163; Pimpl 1997), b) the bronze hydria dedicated to Zeus Herkeios was also a mother's votive, and c) at least three more bronze vessels (two *chernibeia* and an *oinochoe*) carry an inscription naming a woman dedicator (*IG* I^3 555, 560, 565, 567, 572, 574: Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 54, no. 13 [unpublished; Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 18497 and X 7109]; 55, 14; 59, no. 18; 64, no. 22. Also, cf. Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 57, no. 16 [Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7341]; 58, no. 17 [Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7032]; 60, no. 19 [Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7336]; 62, no. 20 [*IG* I^3 579; Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 17520]; 63, no. 21 [*IG* I^3 580; Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 17517]. For a discussion on the sacrificial, agonistic or other function of bronze vessels, see Keesling 2005, p. 418). An expensive marble or bronze vessel would make an appropriate gift to Athena and other family gods for granting a safe delivery of a future citizen, and at the same time, it could signal the end of pollution after birth.

40 Mothers had no control over the fate of their baby, as it was the father who could decide whether it would be reared or exposed. Once the newborn was accepted by the father as a legitimate child, it was welcomed in the family during the *Amphidromia*, a celebration that took place around the fifth day after birth. It consisted of carrying the baby in a ritual run around the hearth, the most sacred place in a Greek home and the spot where all newcomers were introduced to the household. This was followed by sacrificies to the gods, the supply of basic nurture for the baby and a meal amongst the immediate family members, which signaled the introduction of the newbron in the *oikos*. Women were also present during this family ritual, and based on a thourough study of literary sources, Florence Gherchanoc recenlty suggested that they were actually more involved in testing whether a newborn was worthy of and fit for survival during the *Amphdromia* than we originally thought (Ephippos *PCG* vol. 5 F3 = Atheneus 370c-d; Hesychius *s.v. dromiamphion hemar*; Schol. Plato *Theaetetus* 160e; Schol. Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 757; *Sudas.v.amphidromia* ; Hamilton 1984; Garland 1990, p. 93-96; Dillon 2002, p. 253-254; Bonnard 2003; Neils 2003, p. 144; Boedeker 2008, p. 241; Gherchanoc 2012, p. 36-44).

41 To my knowledge, there is no representation of this family event in the visual arts and the closest parallel that I could find involves a divine protagonist. The scene in question decorates the elaborate red-figure *kylix* potted by Hieron and attributed to Makron from the Acropolis, dated to ca. 490 BCE (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 325; BAPD 204701; *ARV*[2] 460.20; Shapiro 2003, p. 86-87). It depicts the introduction of the infant Dionysos to Olympos, held by his father, Zeus. Athena, Poseidon and Hermes participate in the divine procession towards an altar, while two women, perhaps the Nymphs, carry a *kanoun* and a *hydria*. Even though Dionysos and Zeus have a rather unorthodox father-and-son-relation (*LIMC* III, 414, 478-479, nos. 664-668, *s.v.* Dionysos [A. Veneri-C. Gaspari]), the scene is indeed reminiscent of the *Amphidromia* celebration, described in the ancient sources.

42 Provided that the baby survived the challenges of his first week in the world, he received his name by his father on the tenth day after birth, during another ceremony, this time attended by a larger circle of friends and relatives, and appropriately called *Dekatê*. Euboulos, a fourth-century playwright, describes in one of his comedies the oppulent feast organized by the family and narrates how women danced all night (*pannuchis*) in thanksgiving for the life of the child. (Aristophanes, *Birds* 494; Euboulos *PCG* vol. 5 F2-3 = Athenaeus 65c-d; *Suda s.v. dekaten hestiasai*; Hamilton 1984. Cf. also Garland 1990, p. 94-95; Dillon 2002, p. 254; Neils 2003, p. 144; Gherchanoc 2012, p. 44-48).

43 Both ceremonies, *Amphidromia* and *Dekate*, were conducted in the close quarters of an *oikos* still polluted by childbirth. In contrast, the festival of *Apatouria* was very much an official, public affair (Parke 1977, p. 88-92; Schmitt Pantel 1977, p. 1059-1073; Lambert 1998, p. 143-189; Palagia 1995, esp. p. 496-498; Neils 2003, p. 144-145). During this festival, the father presented his son to his phratry, and possibly his daughter as well (Gould 1980, p. 40-42; Golden 1985; Palagia 1995, p. 497. *Pro* girls' introduction to their fathers' phratries: Golden 1985, p. 9-13, Hendrick 1990, p. 28; Lambert 1998, p. 162-166; Gherchanoc 2012, p. 150. *Contra* Gould 1980, p. 40-43; Cole 1984, p. 236; Pomeroy 1997, p. 76-82). By doing so, he swore to the legitimacy of the child and prepared his proper registration at around age sixteen (cf. Knauer 1996, esp. p. 233-234). As suggested above, the so-called *Apatouria* relief may preserve a rare representation of female family members participating to the ceremony.

44 Overall, this survey of female dedications on the Acropolis during the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods demonstrates that one can still detect offerings made by mothers, and through them attempt to shed new light on women's role at family festivals and in *oikos*-dedications. Since Athena is primarily concerned with matters of the polis and not of fertility, birth or childhood, even the dedications she receives from women (including mothers) have a public character and relate to the *oikos* in its connection to the city rather than a typical female issue. Athenian women seem to have enjoyed relative freedom in terms of dedications and public religious expression before the establishment of the Classical polis system and the social changes that followed the road to democracy, while sporadic maternal offerings, such as the one by Mikythe, suggest that this practice continued through the middle of the fifth century. Like other elite women of the same period, the Athenians set up votive offerings that were not solely of personal nature but aimed to the family's praise and the devotee's public esteem (cf. Lazzarini 1976, nos. 150-154 [Delos, unnamed], 157 [Delos/Naxos, Nikandre], 317 [Delos, Proxene], 726 [Paros, Telestodike]; Ridgway 1987; Kron 1996, p. 155, 157, 160, 166, 168, 181). The preserved maternal dedications examined here indicate that mothers occasionally acted as representatives of the *oikos*. This observation strengthens their role within the Athenian family and provides additional support in favor of female participation in both private and public family festivals during the Archaic and Early Classical eras.

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Abbreviations

ABV: Beazley J.D. (1956), *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford.

ARV^2: Beazley J.D. (1963), *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford.

BAPD: Beazley Archive Pottery Database, Oxford.

LIMC: *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (1981-1997), Zurich.

Para: Beazley J.D. (1971), *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed, Oxford.

PCG: Kassel P. and Austin C. (1983-), *Poetae Comici Graeci*, Berlin-New York.

ThesCRA: *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum* (2004-2005), Los Angeles-Basel.

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NOTES

1. Cf. von Straten's proposed methodology in his discussion of female dedications from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauroneia in Attica (1990, p. 276-278, 282): if we only look at the epigraphical evidence of the inventories, it seems as though the Athenian women by themselves independently could make their own dedications. But, if we incorporate the iconographical material, we get a different picture: in contrast to private votive offerings by men that could be regarded as an entirely individual matter, private offerings of women were almost always regarded as a family affair. More recently, Nevett (2012) has convincingly showcased the complexities of male and female behavior within the urban fabric, arguing for a greater visibility and mobility of women in public and domestic contexts than previously thought. Davidson (2012) takes a similarly nuanced approach towards the male and female space.

2. One could also bring attention to terracotta dedications, such as the sixth-century terracotta busts and figurines of women with a child on their shoulder, found together with fourth- and third-century kourotrophos statuettes in an ex-voto deposit south of the Propylaia. This deposit has been associated with the double shrine of Blaute (Balaat)/Aphrodite and Kourotrophos located near the Mycenaean shrine under the Nike Tower. However, the majority of the Kourotrophos-finds date beyond the timeframe of this paper and for this reason they have been excluded: Brouskari 1974, p. 123, no. 6450, pls. 228 and 124, nos. 1442, 1443, pls. 232, 233; Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, p. 47-48, nos. 453-454 and p. 101-110, esp. p. 104-107; Beaumont 2003, p. 61; Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 224-229.

3. See for example a bronze handle offered to Artemis Brauroneia by a certain Glyke, dated to ca. 480 BCE (*IG* I^3 548bis), offerings to Aphrodite and Poseidon (Raubitschek 1949, 318-319, no. 296 and 412-3, no. 384, respectively), and to Zeus Herkeios, examined below.

4. This paper was first presented at the *Rencontre scientifique "Mères et maternités en Grèce ancienne* ", organized by Florence Gherchanoc and Jean-Baptiste Bonnard at the Université Paris Diderot-Paris 7 and ANHIMA in 2012. I am thankful to the organizers for the invitation and to Denise Demetriou, Olga Palagia, Nassi Malagardis, and H. Alan Shapiro for reading earlier drafts.

5. Solid and cast bronze statuettes of Athena Promachos were a popular dedication before 480 BCE, but only a handful have been found with certainty on the Acropolis. One of them (*IG* I^3 540)

carries an inscription naming a certain Meleso, who offered the statuette as a *dekate* to Athena, ca. 480-470 BCE: Dillon 2002, p. 16, fig. 1.2 with bibliography.

6. For an association of the phiale with female dedicators during the Classical period, see Harris 1995, p. 236-237, stating that in the Erechtheion inventories 8 out of 10 silver phialai were dedicated by women, while similar gender restrictions appear in the Parthenon inventories of 434/3 BCE. See also Kron 1996, p. 165; Dillon 2002, p. 17-18.

7. On mothers acting on behalf of their children:*IG* II^2 4883 (Hipparche),4613 (Lysistrate), 4588 (Phile), 4593 (Archestrate); *IG* II^2 1524.1 56-58 (Nikostrate),4912/13 (]sippe), 4333 (to son and daughter), 4334 (Melinna); *Agora* I 4568 (Archippe); *SEG* 43.56 (Leonike). On similar maternal dedications from other Greek areas of the Classical period (Eretria, Larissa, Amorgos, Epidauros, Pantikapaion, Halikarnassos), see Löhr 2000, p. 50, 58, 88, 101, 106-107, nos. 63, 102, 119, 126; Lazzarini 1976, nos. 281-284. On joint dedications by spouses from Athenian sanctuaries, see for example *Agora* I 4165 (Spoudias and Kleiokrateia) and *IG* II^2 4403 (Meidias and Danais). On males dedicating on behalf of women:*IG* II^2 4914 (Alkippe) and various offerings to Asklepios, *e.g.*, Löhr 2000, p. 114, 134, 148-149, nos. 135, 153, 169 and for a fuller treatment, Aleshire 1989.

8. Cf. the example of a father and his children dedicating an *agalma* to Athena as a counterpart to the votive inscription on the *hydria* (*IG* I^3 722). Löhr 2000 offers the most in depth discussion of family dedications according to the number family members and other relatives being mentioned in the inscription, as well as the type of offering. Keesling (2005, p. 397-398) estimates that the largest number of joint family votive offerings comes from the Acropolis, and more specifically, at least 33 examples date between 600 and 450 BCE. See also here n. 7 and 10.

9. See for example Ma's analysis (2013, p. 166) of the Hellenistic statue of Nannion dedicated to Demeter and Kore by her five sons, The epigram includes the phrase "*hyper tes metros,*" a formula which makes it unclear whether such an offering should be labeled as honorary. According to Ma's catalogue, in the Hellenistic period the phrase most commonly occurs in dedications from Rhodes, Asia Minor, Anaphe and Olbia. Cf. Löhr 2000, p. 101, no. 119.

10. On the relation of mother and daughter in Greek literature and art, see Foley 2003, p. 113-137, esp. 119 stating that "mothers frequently made dedications on behalf of their children, and epitaphs on grave monuments for them adopt the persona of the mother." For later examples of dedications offered by a mother on behalf of a son or daughter, see the late fifth-century dedication of Argeia for her son Agetor from Larissa (*IG* IX 2 575), two fourth-century offerings: of Archestrate for her daughter on the Acropolis (*IG* II^2 4593) and of Leonike for her son in Rhamnous (*SEG* 43.56). If a family member was unable to fulfill a vow during his/her lifetime, then this obligation was carried on to the next of kin, *e.g.*, fathers may dedicate on behalf of their children, like Kynarbos on behalf of his daughters (*IG* I^3 745) and the fourth-century offering by Alkippe's father (*IG* II^2 4914). Similarly, siblings may dedicate on behalf of one another, *e.g.* a brother on behalf of a sister (*IG* I^3 703). See also the sixth-century joint dedications of a parent and his/her children (*IG* I^3 700 and 722), a fifth-century example of a father and daughter from Eretria (*IG* XII 9 124), as well as a fourth-century dedication by Hipparche and her son from the Acropolis (?) (*IG* II^2 4883) and the family votive to Aphrodite Pandemos (*IG* II^2 4596).

11. A similar scene of a girl juggling apples is depicted on the white-ground *pyxis* by the Painter of London D12, ca. 460 BCE (BAPD 275416; *ARV*^{2} 1675.94 bis; *Para* 434; *Add*^{2} 308; Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 273, no. 81). Also, note that the *arrhephoroi*, the seven-year-old girls of noble birth that were selected to serve Athena for a year, played ball-games in the court of the Arrhephorion, located at the NW of the Acropolis: Pausanias 1.27.3; Plutarch, *Moralia* 893c; Travlos 1971, p. 70-71; Dillon 2002, p. 57-60; Neils 2003, p. 150; Connely 2007, p. 31-32, 142-144. On representations of wool-workers on Attic gravestones, see Kosmopoulou 2001, p. 300.

12. On women of all classes earning money through textile production, see Brock 1994, p. 338. Bundrick (2008) interprets the representations of women weavers as a positive metaphor of their

contribution to the *oikos* and the polis, while Oakley (2004, p. 19-74) recognizes similar domestic scenes on white-ground lekythoi as a metaphor of the well-working *oikos*.

13. On questions regarding the age, marital status and number of the *ergastinai*, see Connely 2007, p. 39-40. For an overview of women in the cult of Athena, see Palagia's discussion of the confusing sources regarding the *arrhephoroi*, *parthenoi* and *ergastinai* (2008, p. 31-37, esp. p. 33-36 with bibliography). For a possible depiction of the two married and the two unmarried, younger *ergastinai*, see the fragment of a black-figure tripod pyxis, Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 252-252, no. 114 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 2202). Dillon (2002, p. 58) accepts the identification of *ergastinai* with the *parthenoi* mentioned in inscriptions and other sources. On women and children in the textile production in general, see Nixon 1999. On the Parthenon *peplos* as the fabric that unites the whole polis, see Bundrick 2008, p. 325-326.

14. The majority of vases consists of cups, few storage vessels, a rather small number of oinochoai, hydriai and phialai (suggesting, perhaps, a preference for bronze counterparts), and an interesting increase of oil containers towards the end of the period, which may signify a new trend in votive practices. The so-called female shapes, such as *loutrophoroi*, *epineitra* and *pyxides*, are not as frequent, but one must be cautious not to rush into conclusions based solely on associations of shapes with gender. See Table 3.

15. The Late Archaic and Early Classical Attic vases from the Acropolis are decorated with various mythological subjects, Dionysiac imagery, cult scenes, as well as warriors and athletes. For a recent discussion of their production and distribution, see Pala 2012. Some vases could be associated with the world of women or even female servants of the goddess, such as the *ergastinai* , the young girls responsible for the weaving of Athena's *peplos* (*e.g.*, a fragment of a black-figure tripod *pyxis*, mentioned above), but we are unable to make any further assumptions.

16. Based on the sample of ca. 700 vases, 19 vases – namely, cups, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi* and plates - and 6 plaques carry a dedicatory inscription. Out of these, 13 mention the word *anetheken* [BAPD 32080 and 32105 (black-figure *skyphoi*); 301943 (black-figure *kantharos*); 301985 and 32328 (black-figure fr.); 301991, 301994, 32246, 208045 (plaques); 320370 and 200833 (black- and red-figure cups, respectively); 9017749 (Six phiale); 32274 (black-figure plate)]; 3 the word *hiera* or a similar formula [BAPD 32359 and 32374 (black-figure cups); 8536 (black-figure plate)]; 4 the word *athenaias* or similar [BAPD 32362 and 275048 (black and red-figure relief cup, respectively); 301856 and 303014 (plaques)]; 3 the phrase *hiera tes athenas* [BAPD 301273-301275 (black-figure cups signed by Nikosthenes)]; and two vases were dedicated to deities other than Athena [BAPD 46647 (red-figure cup to Artemis); 9017750 (black-figure bowl to Aphrodite?)]. For inscriptions on Attic vases in general, see Immerwahr 1998.

17. *E.g.*, the black-figure cup fragment depicting Athena in the tondo carries the dipinto *hiera*, BAPD 32359, Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 1, no. 1922, pl. 89 and the black-figure cup fragment with the inscription *hiera tes Athenas*, BAPD 301273, Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 1, no. 1812, pl. 88. Note that BAPD 301273, 301274 and 301275 are all black-figure cups, carry the same dedicatory inscription and mention Nikosthenes as the potter. Cf. the so-called cult pottery from the Heraion on Samos: Kron 1988; Avramidou forthcoming.

18. *E.g.*, the Six phiale from the late sixth-early fifth century BCE: BAPD 9017749, Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 2, no. 1241, pl. 89; Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 2.1198. In this case we can assume that the donor is a woman, because they are commonly associated with *phialai* on account of their role in libations scenes, but also through epigraphical sources, see above n. 6.

19. For similar birds, see the Attic *amphora* with Circe and Odysseus attributed to the Leagros Group (*LIMC* VI (1992) 5 bis, pl. 24, *s.v.* Odysseus) and the Attic white-ground *lekythos* by the Pan Painter depicting Artemis with a heron or a swan (*ARV*^{2} 557.121, 1659; *Add*^{2} 259; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 90-91, no. 36 and front cover).

20. The scene recalls the black-figure *lekythos* by the Gela Painter from Brauron, ca. 500-480 BCE. It depicts a sacrificial procession in honor of Athena who is sitting inside a building holding a *phiale*. In contrast to the black-figure *skyphos*, on the *lekythos* a bull is brought to sacrifice: *ABV* 443.3, 475.29; British Museum 1905.7-11.1. Also, cf. the black-figure *loutrophoros* from the Acropolis with Athena Promachos standing in front of her altar, inscribed *Athenaias*: BAPD 498; Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, vol. 1, no. 1220, pl. 67; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, p. 254-255, no. 115.

21. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the vase does not allow us to discern whether the pig was part of a *trittys* (or *trittoia*, a sacrifice of a bull, a sow and an ewe) or not; *ThesCRA* I 110-112 (A. Hermary *et al.*). On the *trittys* and the inconsistency between the sources that mention a ram and a bull sacrificed to Athena and Erechtheus, and the depiction of a sow as a sacrificial animal in honor of Athena both here and on the band cup at the Niarchos Collection, ca. 560-550 BCE, see Connely 2007, p. 187-189. Palagia (1995, p. 495-496) discusses the iconographic and epigraphic evidence on pigs sacrificed in honor of Athena on public festivals, *e.g.*, during the Panathenaia according to the decree of the Salaminians of 363/2 BCE (*SEG* 52.135), but also on private occasions. On piglets and male festivals, see Neils 2003, p. 158 and 291; For a marble votive pig from a well on the North Slope and possibly related to the cult of Demeter on the Acropolis, see Broneer 1938. On *Apatouria*, see Schmitt Pantel 1977, esp. p. 1059-1068 and the discussion below.

22. Palagia 1995, p. 495-496 and discussion above. The literary sources are inconsistency regarding the sacrificial victim offered by the father upon the introduction of his son to his phratry: Pollux (3.52) mentions goats and sheep, while the decree of the Salaminians (363/2 BCE; *SEG* 52.135) a pig sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios (*ThesCRA* I, 91, no 259 [A. Hermary *et al.*]; Palagia 1995, 497). Mikalson 2010, p. 141-142 mentions only a sheep.

23. For a discussion of the relation between *oikos* and the *polis* through a survey of Attic grave *stelai* of the late fifth and fourth century BCE, see Ridgway 1987, p. 405-406 and Leader 1997. Cf. Meyer 1993; Löhr 2000, p. 232-233; Oakley 2004, p. 215-231; Bundrick (2008, p. 328-329) associates the increase of women weaving in vase painting of the second half of the fifth century with the importance of women, *oikos* and the polis, following the Periclean citizenship law.

RÉSUMÉS

Cet article réévalue le rôle des femmes, et plus particulièrement des mères comme représentantes de l'*oikos*, à travers un examen des dédicaces de l'Acropole, qui peuvent être interprétées comme maternelles ainsi qu'en témoigne l'épigraphie et le confirment d'autres sources. L'étude est volontairement limitée à la période archaïque tardive et au début de la période classique, en raison de l'abondance de dédicaces féminines et de dédicaces d'une même famille, et de la richesse des données contextuelles disponibles pour la comparaison. Divers types de matériaux sont analysés pour parvenir à une pluralité de témoignages, tout en explorant le rôle des femmes dans les rituels de la famille et des pratiques dédicatoires. Le matériel conservé indique que les mères de temps en temps ont agi au nom de l'*oikos*. Cette observation renforce leur rôle au sein de la famille archaïque et offre un indice supplémentaire en faveur de la participation des femmes dans les fêtes familiales privées et publiques.

This article reevaluates the role of women, and more specifically of mothers, as representatives of the *oikos* through an investigation of votives from the Acropolis, which can be interpreted as

maternal based on epigraphic and other corroborating evidence. The timeframe of the study is restricted within the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods because of the abundance of female and joint family dedications, and the richness of contextual evidence available for comparison. Diverse classes of material are brought into examination in order to achieve plurality of evidence while exploring the role of women within family rituals and dedications. The preserved material indicates that mothers occasionally acted on behalf of the *oikos*. This observation strengthens their role within the Archaic family and provides additional support in favor of female participation in both private and public family festivals.

INDEX

Keywords : Acropolis, Archaic period, family festival, mother, votivs, woman dedicator
Mots-clés : Acropole, période archaïque, fête de famille, mère, dédicacs, femme comme dédicante

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